ST/ESA/SER.R/21

NATIONAL EXPERIENCE IN THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF POPULATION POLICY, 1962-1976

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

UNITED NATIONS

ST/ESA/SER.R/21

Department of Economic and Social Affairs

NATIONAL EXPERIENCE IN THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF POPULATION POLICY, 1962-1976

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

UNITED NATIONS
New York, 1978

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

The designations employed and the presentation of material in this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Secretariat of the United Nations concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

ST/ESA/SER.R/21

PREFACE

Since the World Population Conference was held under the auspices of the United Nations in 1974 there has been growing interest among policy makers in the complex interrelationships between population and development, with the area of population policy being one of increasing concern.

The following study is one of a series of reports prepared during 1975 and 1976 by the Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat in an attempt to disseminate information among interested Governments and scholars on the experience of various Governments in formulating and implementing population policies. It is intended that the series, when completed, will include all countries in the world and will examine the variety of situations and solutions adopted by Governments, which have often been determined by particular historical, political, socio-economic or cultural circumstances. The information included in the series would be useful to the national bodies assisting Governments in the area of population and related fields, as well as to the international organizations which are attempting to increase the knowledge of ways in which Governments may most effectively resolve problems associated with population.

Although the reports have been prepared with all possible care, there may possibly be errors or omissions. Comments or corrections from Governments would be appreciated.

CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	iii
INTRODUCTORY NOTE	1
THE PERIOD 1962-1976	2
The political and economic situation	2
Development planning	3
Information on the general demographic situation and trends	4
General policy with regard to the demographic situation and trends	5
Size and growth of the population	6
Morbidity and mortality	10
Fertility	13
Immigration	17
Emigration	18
Spatial distribution of the population	20
CONCLUSION	26
Table. Selected demographic indicators, 1950-2000	29
Map. Trinidad and Tobago: administrative divisions	32

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The major determinant of population growth in the former British colony of Trinidad and Tobago was the need for unskilled labour in a plantation economy based on sugar-cane cultivation. From the period of early settlement, European colonizers brought in slaves and unskilled immigrants from Europe, Africa and Asia so that the agricultural potential of the islands could be economically exploited. Although there were important inflows of free immigrants, the principal sources of labour were unfree, consisting of slavery up to the early nineteenth century and indentured labour thereafter, up to 1917. The importance of immigration for population growth ended, however, by the first decade of the present century. Subsequently, the dominant influences on population growth were, first, the large and rapid decline in mortality and, later, the high level of fertility. Beginning around the 1920s, the rate of population growth, which had been declining during the previous four decades, began once again to increase. The annual intercensal rate of growth was 1.2 per cent for the decade 1921-1931, increasing to around 2 per cent per annum during the period 1931-1946 and to nearly 3 per cent during 1946-1960. 1/

1/ Jack Harewood, The Population of Trinidad and Tobago (Paris, Comité international de coordination des recherches nationales en démographie, 1975), pp. 2-3, 9.

THE PERIOD 1962-1976

The political and economic situation

Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, has been the political leader of the People's National Movement since it first emerged on the political scene in 1956. One of the major achievements of the new party, which represented the first manifestation of party politics in the islands on a national scale, was the abolition of the Crown colony system. Another was the introduction of the concept and techniques of national planning.

The Federation of the West Indies, established in April 1958, was short-lived. Following the proceedings of the Independence Conference which convened in London in May 1962, the Federation was formally abolished. Trinidad and Tobago became an independent nation on 31 August 1962.

The rate of growth of the Trinidad and Tobago economy was relatively slow during the 1960s. It had expanded much more rapidly during the 1950s, when the average annual growth rate was an estimated 8.6 per cent. Unsettled political conditions after the disintegration of the Federation of the West Indies and the attainment of independence as well as unfavourable developments in the external sector were largely responsible for the stagnation of the economy during the early years of independence. Although petroleum was the prime mover in the economy in terms of its contribution to the gross domestic product, export trade and government revenues, its share in the gross domestic product (GDP) declined continuously from 1960 until 1965 and its annual growth averaged only 2.7 per cent. Manufacturing gradually became one of the major sectors of the economy, whereas agriculture's share of the gross domestic product declined steadily over the period, even in absolute terms. 1/ On balance, real GDP advanced at a slow and declining rate for the 1961-1971 period. Output grew at 4 per cent a year, or about 2 per cent per capita, while over the last half of the period the rate of growth of GDP was only 3.5 per cent a year. 2/ Given the sluggish growth of output, new employment opportunities expanded slowly. This was one of the main causes of the social unrest in 1970 which culminated in the declaration of a state of emergency.

Whereas the oil industry suffered the effects of the exhaustion of oil deposits during the late 1960s and early 1970s, with production dropping by some 30 per cent between 1968 and 1971, the steady decline in production was halted in 1973 when two oilfields near the eastern

---

1/ Economic Survey of Latin America, 1966 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.68.II.G.1).

2/ Employment in Trinidad and Tobago (Washington, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1973), p. ii.

coast of the island began to be exploited. The production of these oil-fields more than compensated for the declining output of the traditional inland wells and resulted in a 45 per cent rise in production from 1971 to 1974.

Agriculture has shown a lack of dynamism in recent years, due to a complex set of factors which include bad weather conditions, labour problems, inadequate credit facilities and inefficient marketing systems. The Government has announced its intention of promoting agriculture by channelling to it some of the revenue received from oil.

Little progress seems to have been made in reducing the country's endemic unemployment, which has been running at the relatively high rate of around 15 per cent. Although the oil industry has been expanding, it is a capital-intensive industry which employs only around 3 per cent of the country's labour force. In contrast, the other essential sectors have generally displayed a low rate of economic activity. For example, construction, which is an important source of employment, has maintained a modest rate of real growth. 3/ The Government remains concerned with the problem of reconciling the need for more rapid growth in the economy with that of alleviating the high levels of unemployment--against a background of rising prices--and has identified the urgent need to reduce unemployment levels, provide jobs for new entrants into the labour force and raise skill levels. Furthermore, because of its awareness that international shortages can affect the country's domestic economy, the Government has proclaimed the attainment of greater economic self-reliance as one of its objectives. The strategy to achieve this goal includes more meaningful participation by the population in the control and ownership of the means of production, in unison with private foreign capital and technology, as well as continuing attempts at diversifying the country's productive structure. 4/

Development planning

The first five-year economic programme (1950-1955) was published in 1950, followed by a five-year development programme for the period 1958-1962. In 1963, an interim year during which priorities for the next plan were formulated and planning machinery for the formulation and execution of subsequent plans was reassessed and improved, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago set up the National Planning Commission. A draft second five-year plan was published in September 1963 but was modified two months later, following a severe hurricane which struck the island of Tobago. 5/

3/ "Economic survey of Latin America, 1975" (E/CEPAL/1014/Add.2).

4/ "Economic survey of Latin America, 1976" (E/CEPAL/1026/Rev.1).

5/ Draft Second Five-Year Plan: 1964-1968 (Port-of-Spain, Government Printery, 1963) and Second Five-Year Plan: 1964-1968. Modifications to Draft Plan (Port-of-Spain, Government Printery, 1965).

In a chapter on planning techniques and organization, the second five-year plan outlined the limitations to planning in the country. "In the first place, the public sector is relatively small...This means that in a national plan, the decisions made by private producers assume almost overwhelming importance. Second, the economy depends to a large extent, especially in the manufacturing and petroleum sectors, on inflows of private capital; and such inflows, as is generally known, are surrounded by uncertainty. Third, the economy is a highly open one and is largely dependent on exports and imports. In 1961, the ratio of total exports of goods to the gross domestic product was nearly 60 per cent--one of the highest in the world, reflecting the predominance of the petroleum sector." The plan noted, however, that to recognize these limiting factors was not to imply that programming was impossible; it emphasized that the Government had a wide array of measures at its command, including the granting of tax incentives, fiscal and monetary measures, commercial policy etc. With regard to the administrative aspects of planning, the second five-year plan reported that the ministries and other government agencies were responsible for carrying out the public sector part of each plan, whereas the National Planning Commission and its secretariat, the Ministry of Planning and Development, would evaluate the progress of implementation.

In December 1968 a first draft of the third five-year plan (1969-1973) was published for comment and was subsequently approved by Parliament in July 1969. 6/ The plan was regarded as the first phase of a 15-year strategy designed to achieve full employment, a more diversified structure of production and a greater degree of economic independence. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) reported that as of 1973 the third five-year plan was nominally still in operation, although developments during 1970 had altered its practical relevance. Whereas the plan had suggested the possibility of the country's crude oil reserves being depleted within 10 years, new oil and gas deposits had been discovered which were expected to have positive effects on the figures set forth in the plan, especially on the balance-of-payments and fiscal outlook and on employment-creating activities.

Information on the general demographic situation and trends

Trinidad and Tobago has had a well developed data collection system for many years. The Central Statistical Office (CSO) provides mid year estimates of population, usually within two years, and issues the Annual Statistical Digest which summarizes demographic, social and economic data. It has published a population and vital statistics reports since 1954, but such data are available from 1901.

6/ Third Five-Year Plan: 1969-1973 (Port-of-Spain, Government Printery, 1968).

Censuses were conducted in 1960 and in 1970. It is generally believed that there was appreciable underenumeration in 1970, since the Census was conducted during a period of extreme political and social unrest which culminated in the declaration of a state of emergency two weeks after Census Day.

Since 1963, the Central Statistical Office has carried out a continuous sample survey of population, which is primarily aimed at collecting information on the labour force. 7/

The Government has long acknowledged the importance of accurate statistics for development planning. The second five-year plan noted that the formulation of soundly based development plans required a solid basis of economic and social statistics and of economic and social research. The plan reported that as a result of the work of the Central Statistical Office, the country was equipped with a set of basic economic and social statistics which could bear favourable comparison with those of most other developing countries.

In its reply to the Third United Nations Inquiry, transmitted in 1977, the Government reported that statistics on international migration and on national educational levels required substantial improvement, while censuses and vital statistics required minor upgrading. Sample surveys to obtain data on morbidity and mortality, manpower and household income were reported to require substantial improvement. With regard to research, the Government noted that it assigned high priority to the following topics: population projections and models; education and population; manpower and population; fertility; internal migration and regional distribution; and the formulation, evaluation and implementation of population policy. It noted, however, that difficulties encountered in conducting research were related to insufficient trained personnel to undertake required exercises.

General policy with regard to the demographic situation and trends

The Government's concern with population problems was first clearly reflected in 1963 during the preparation of its draft second five-year plan. The draft plan reported that the study of the size, rate of growth and major characteristics of the country's population was a fundamental prerequisite for economic development planning, since human resources were central to the process of production and since the final objective of all economic development was to satisfy the needs of a country's population.

At the Second Latin American Meeting on Population in 1975, the principal medical officer in the Ministry of Health noted the extent to which population policies in Trinidad and Tobago were integrated within over-all development planning: "It will be appreciated that several

---

7/ Continuous Sample Survey of Population: General Report (Port-of-Spain, Central Statistical Office, 1967).

important strategies which might have influence on the population problem are being developed in Trinidad and Tobago. Clearly, our concern is not only with the promotion of family planning...Our broad development strategies include traditional and not so traditional developmental approaches. They include concern with income distribution; they can influence internal distribution of people; they aim deliberately at increasing food production, again at national and regional levels; they are concerned with the status of women; they recognize the important part that family planning plays in bringing about a better balance between birth rates and death rates; they are tackling issues that are of basic concern in any national development programme."

Size and growth of the population

Information available to the Government

The draft second five-year plan reported that the population enumerated at the Census of 1960 was 828,000 and that it had reached 894,000 by mid 1962. Reporting that the average annual rate of growth between the Censuses of 1946 and 1960 had been 2.87 per cent, the draft plan noted that the rate of growth in 1963 was "about 3 per cent". 8/

The third five-year plan reported in 1969 that five years earlier, when the second five-year plan was being prepared, the country's population had been growing at an alarming rate. The population was expected to double within 25 years if the annual average rate of growth, at that time, of 2.8 per cent continued unchecked. This pessimistic forecast was later modified in the light of a subsequent decline in the birth rate and the change from a situation of net immigration to one of net emigration. The third plan reported that the rate of natural increase had declined from 3.1 per cent to 2.3 per cent per annum during the period 1962-1968. Because of substantial net emigration after 1964, the actual population growth rate declined from 3 per cent in 1963 to around 1 per cent in 1968.

Population growth during the intercensal period 1960-1970 was estimated at between 1.3 per cent per annum (based on the 1970 census count) and 2.1 per cent (based on the "expected" census population). Because the census enumeration took place during a period of political unrest, it is generally believed that there was appreciable underenumeration. The Central Statistical Office continues to publish mid year population estimates derived by adding natural increase and net migration to the 1960 census population.

8/ Draft Second Five-Year Plan..., p. 46.

Government perception of size and growth in relation to development objectives

The relationship between the country's past high rates of population growth and endemic unemployment was clearly perceived by the Government during the 1960s and analysed in both its second and third five-year plans. The second plan emphasized, for example, that of the factors which had led to a rapid and continuing increase in the demand for jobs, the growth of population was by far the most important.

Since 1963 the Government has publicly acknowledged the existence of constraints on economic and social development arising from high population growth rates. The draft second five-year plan reported in 1963 that demographic studies indicated that the West Indies as a whole, and Trinidad and Tobago in particular, had one of the world's highest population growth rates. The increase in the country's population since the turn of the century was described as a dramatic, though terrifying, reality, particularly in comparison with the developed countries, and even compared with those countries during the period of their development. The plan reported that the most challenging question it faced was whether the country's economic and social growth would be sufficiently rapid to provide jobs for the population of working age and schools and teachers for the school-age population, which was growing far more rapidly than the total population, as well as housing, health care and other basic services needed to improve or even maintain the existing level of living.

In 1964-1965 the People's National Movement, in office since the 1956 elections, appointed a special committee to make recommendations with respect to population policy. The committee's report conveyed a pessimistic assessment of the country's future development prospects if population growth were to remain unchecked. It stated: "It has been shown that a high birth rate reduces savings. Fewer savings means that there is less money available for investment in agriculture and industry. In general, the less the investment in agriculture and industry, the fewer persons employed. This means unemployment. Unemployment itself means fewer savings. This is the vicious circle in which we are caught in Trinidad and Tobago, a circle which is not only vicious but which is steadily worsening. It is in fact not really a circle but a spiral, accelerating us to economic ruin...If hard-won economic and social gains are not to be completely nullified and if economic development is not to bog down under the weight of increasing numbers, the question of population control has to be tackled urgently and vigorously. The committee is of the opinion that population control should be an integral part of Trinidad and Tobago's programme for economic and social development and, as has been shown, such control must necessarily centre around reduction in the birth rate. 9/

Whereas the above statement was issued during a period when the Government perceived national population growth rates to be excessive, the third

9/ Report on Family Planning (Port-of-Spain, People's National Movement, 1965), pp. 7 and 16.

five-year plan must be analysed in the context of lower population growth rates, which the Government predicted would continue. (The economic assumptions of the third five-year plan are based on an average annual rate of population growth of 1.6 per cent.) Nevertheless, there was an awareness in the third plan of the problem of demographic inertia and its implications for unemployment. The plan stated: "Leaving aside the possibilities of emigration, even if the birth-rate continues to decline, the natural rate of growth of the labour force will remain high for the next nine years, since annual natural increase in the labour force is determined by the number of births fifteen years ago." 10/ The plan did not envisage a slower rate of growth of the labour force until around 1977, when the effects of the fall in the birth rate from 1962 onwards would be felt. It reported that as a consequence of high fertility rates during the 1950s, which continued until the mid 1960s, the population of working age--those persons aged 15 years and over--was expected to increase significantly during the planning period. Between 1968 and 1973, the labour force was projected to increase by some 48,000 persons, or at an annual average rate of 2.5 per cent--a high rate of growth, which would be even higher were it not for the assumption of net emigration over the same period of some 25,000 workers.

The statement issued by the Government at the Second Latin American Meeting on Population noted that efforts to generate employment would have reduced impact if a reduction in population growth were not achieved simultaneously. The statement emphasized that the Government's population policy, a national policy in which targets had been set up for achieving a reduction in the birth rate, recognized the relationship between high fertility and unemployment, just as it recognized the relationship between fertility control and other aspects of social and economic development. It noted, however, that Trinidad and Tobago, like other countries, faced problems that would be created by demographic inertia, in spite of all of the Government's efforts to reduce its rate of population growth.

In its reply to the Third United Nations Inquiry in early 1977, the Government reported that although the country's rate of population growth in some ways contributed to the achievement of economic and social development, it was basically too high, since it placed excessive pressure on the country's natural resources, contributed to problems of unemployment and constrained desired income distribution, appropriate savings generation and the effectiveness of capital investment.

Policy with regard to size and growth

The Government's draft second five-year plan, while recognizing the relationship between economic development and population change, did not recommend any specific measures to modify the rate of population growth. The plan noted that the picture as a whole gave grounds for optimism,

---

10/ Third Five-Year Plan..., p. 107.

emphasizing that if the historical and contemporary experiences of other countries were any guide, the high and rising standard of living as well as the spread of education and expertise would eventually result in a more favourable balance between birth and death rates. The plan emphasized that "the ultimate goal of development must be the full and fruitful employment of our population in order to achieve improved levels of our national product and the distribution of that product among our people so as to bring about rising living standards among the broadest segments of our society". 11/ It noted, however, that "given the recent and present rates of growth of our population, the ultimate goal of full employment cannot be achieved in the short period of five years. But much can be done toward the eventual achievement of this goal even in a short period if the steps taken during this period are along a road which leads to that goal." 12/ As a means of resolving growth-related problems, the plan outlined a programme of economic restructuring--in particular, transformation of the country's economic structures so as to lessen its dependence on petroleum extraction--rather than direct intervention to modify the population growth rate.

The third five-year plan outlined further steps for economic restructuring, noting that the three main goals of its development plan were economic diversification, the elimination of structural unemployment and greater economic independence. The plan reported that the Government's long-term strategy was to develop a more diversified economy by the 1980s, with considerably more internal economic decision-making and full employment. The plan noted: "In the strategy it is not envisaged that full employment will be achieved until 1983-1984 since the necessary structural and demographic changes will require more than one decade...In particular, it is only when the manufacturing sector has achieved a certain 'weight' in the economy that increases in manufacturing output can yield large increases in employment. Moreover, the effect of the falling birth-rate (which will be accelerated by the Government Family Planning Programme) on the annual rate of increase in the labour force will not be felt until the late 1970s. Accordingly, it is suggested that in the short and medium run while the long-term process of diversification is taking place, the unemployment problem will have to be tackled by more immediate measures, principally a large construction programme." 13/

In addition to economic restructuring, the Government's third five-year plan noted the advantages to be obtained from reducing population growth by means of the National Family Planning Programme.

11/ Draft Second Five-Year Plan..., p. 63.

12/ Ibid., p. 64.

13/ Third Five-Year Plan..., p. 25.

Morbidity and mortality

Information available to the Government

The draft second five-year plan reported in 1963 that the crude death rate had declined from 25 per thousand population at the beginning of the century to around 7 per thousand; even more striking than the new low rate was the rapidity of the decline since around 1921. Whereas the crude death rate had taken a century to fall in the United Kingdom, a similar decline in Trinidad and Tobago, commencing much later, had taken only 30 years. The plan reported that "the very substantial improvement in the public health and sanitation of the country, the successful adaptation of the improvements in the science of medicine and the generally improved economic and social conditions for the masses of the population, have all contributed to this remarkable decline in the death rate...As a result of mortality trends, the expectation of life for males has increased from 37.6 years in 1921 to 59.9 years in 1957, and that of females from 40.1 years in 1921 to 63.6 years in 1957." 14/ The application of medical science and sanitary measures and the generally improved economic and social conditions in the country had led to a virtual elimination of many endemic debilitating diseases such as tuberculosis, hookworm and malaria and had drastically reduced the incidence of fatal illnesses such as typhoid and diptheria. While there were insufficient data to measure improvements in morbidity, the Government felt that the reduction of the incidence of debilitating diseases had led to improved energy and a greater sense of well-being among the population. It considered, however, that the country's nutritional standards were still somewhat low, particularly with respect to the intake of proteins.

The Government reported in its third five-year plan that there had been a decline in the crude death rate from 11.0 per thousand in 1951-1955 to 6.7 in 1967, as a result of a reduction in infant mortality: from 73.1 per thousand in 1951-1955 to 37.5 per thousand in 1967. There had also been fewer deaths among children under five years of age. Improved public health, which had controlled the spread of infectious diseases among the child population, was largely responsible for these favourable trends. The plan reported that sharp declines had been registered in the traditional main causes of death: tuberculosis, typhoid, dysentery, influenza, bronchitis, malaria, syphillis and all other infectious and parasitic diseases. It noted that the main causes of death, as of 1973, were essentially those found in the advanced countries. The main factor in health improvement was reported to have been better environmental control, chiefly sewage disposal, improved water supplies and insect vector control. The Government noted that over the duration of the second five-year plan the principal source of improvement had been in preventive medicine. In 1964 less than half of the population was protected from any one disease

---

14/ Draft Second Five-Year Plan..., pp. 47-48.

preventable by immunization. By 1968, most of the population was protected, and the threat of major outbreaks of smallpox, typhoid, diptheria and other infectious diseases was virtually non-existent.

The Government reported in 1973 that "the crude death rate, although showing a drop from 8.0 per thousand in 1960 to 6.8 per thousand in 1970, is not expected to drop further. It is likely to remain around 7 per thousand for several years yet. Quite noticeable is the observation that in the towns of Port-of-Spain and San Fernando the death rate has taken an upward trend over the past few years." 15/ It emphasized, moreover, that although the infant mortality rate had declined from 45.5 per thousand live births in 1960 to 34.4 per thousand live births in 1970, the rate had continued to fluctuate from year to year.

Government perception of levels of morbidity and mortality

In 1963, in its draft second five-year plan, the Government reported that the country's crude death rate compared favourably with the rates in a majority of countries. The third five-year plan concurred with this assessment, reporting that the health situation in Trinidad and Tobago was quite favourable and approached a level found in the more developed countries. Noting that the main factor in health improvement during the preceding 15 years had been better environmental control, the Government reported that the area that remained to be improved was medical care, on which most of the budget (both recurrent and capital) of the Ministry of Health was spent. It noted, however, that whereas it would not be too difficult to provide necessary physical facilities and equipment, the more difficult task would be to obtain adequate numbers of qualified personnel.

In its subsequent plan, the Government emphasized that there remained a number of problems to be resolved in the health sector, particularly in relation to the physical plant and the availability of qualified personnel. It acknowledged, for example, that over the years no real analysis of the plant or the supporting services of the Ministry of Health had ever been made. The result was that the existing facilities were, in many places, in a state of disrepair and their capacity out-stripped by the growing population. It further cautioned that the ratio of physicians to the total population had been declining. Whereas there had been 350 physicians practising in the country in 1962, there were only 366 by 1966. A majority of the country's citizens utilized the government health services. Noting that a good indicator of the availability of medical care was the ratio of physicians in government service to the total population, the third plan reported that this ratio was around 2 per 10,000 population, one of the lowest in the Latin American region.

However, on balance, the Government considers progress in the sector to be satisfactory. In its reply to the Third United Nations Inquiry, it reported the level of life expectancy at birth to be acceptable, noting

---

15/ Population Abstract: 1960-1970 (Port-of-Spain, Central Statistical Office, 1973), pp. viii, ix.

that it would be feasible to achieve a level of 60-64 years for males and 65-69 years for females by 1985.

Policy with regard to morbidity and mortality

The Government reported in 1963 that capital expansion programmes for the country's health services were given a low priority in the 1964-1968 plan. The Government proposed to consolidate those gains that had been made and refrain from high capital expenditure in the sector, so as to divert resources to areas of higher priority. In the new programme, emphasis would be placed on improving services in rural areas rather than continuing with the construction of large hospitals outside of the two main areas of population concentration. The Government noted that the Better Village Programme, which would operate in conjunction with the second five-year plan, was designed to improve village amenities, principally by providing mobile services in the field of health.

A comprehensive nutrition programme sponsored by the United Nations and designed to raise the nutritional levels of the population was initiated as a result of a nutrition survey carried out in the country in 1961 by the World Health Organization (WHO) and other specialized agencies of the United Nations. The objectives of the programme included increased village, school and home production of nutritionally valuable food, the development of supplementary feeding programmes utilizing locally produced food, the promotion of nutrition education and the training of various categories of personnel in applied nutrition, horticulture, poultry raising, fish culture etc. for the above activities. In its second plan, the Government reported that the United Nations-sponsored programme complemented the objectives of the country's Agricultural Development Programme. In its subsequent plan, the Government reported that much activity had occurred in the nutrition field since about 1964, culminating in the signing of an official agreement which established the Caribbean Food and Nutrition Institute in early 1968. The Institute would promote co-ordination between the often artificially separated disciplines concerned with nutrition, including agriculture, health education and community development, and would assist in the development and implementation of all types of action programmes, such as those concerned with the introduction of a nutritionally and economically feasible food production policy, the rational modification of food habits, consideration of the relationships between population dynamics and nutrition and the development of multidisciplinary applied projects aimed at the improvement of nutrition at the community level.

In 1970 the third five-year plan reported that as a result of the Government's recognition of the importance to a developing nation of a productive labour force, the Ministry of Health had gained acceptance for its National Health Plan, the immediate goal of which was to ensure the fitness of the country's population for work. A related development was the proposed introduction of a social security programme. Basic to the implementation and success of the Health Plan and the social security

programme was the need for the expansion and modernization of the country's health facilities. UNICEF reported in 1969 that the National Health Plan aimed at developing integrated health services, especially in rural areas. Towards this end, the islands were divided into nine programme areas and the administrative structure at the central level was gradually reorganized. This arrangement was intended to promote the decentralization of services, the redeployment of existing medical and paramedical personnel, improved diagnostic and treatment facilities in the peripheral centres, better utilization of resources to raise the standard of health care without significantly increasing recurrent expenditures, the integration of health facilities and the co-ordination of health services with other community activities. Three programme areas were selected as pilot areas for the introduction and evaluation of the new pattern of services. A systematic evaluation of progress was to be undertaken and, based on the experience gained, integrated services were to be gradually extended to the remaining six areas. 16/

At the Second Latin American Meeting on Population, held in 1975, the Government reported that health care in the country was provided, to a large extent, through the free government health services. In developing health programmes, serious attention had been given to preventive health, the provision of community-based services, improvements in administration, staffing, facilities and services in general, assisting plans for rural development through careful health planning and the proper integration of family planning into health services.

Fertility

Information available to the Government

In 1963, in its second five-year plan, the Government reported that the crude birth rate had declined from 37.3 per thousand population at the beginning of the century to 30.5 by 1929-1930 and subsequently rose again, reaching a level of 38.9 per thousand during the period 1955-1959. At the time of the drafting of the second plan, the crude birth rate was on the order of 37 per thousand population. 17/ The committee appointed to advise the Government on formulating a national population policy reported in 1965 that the birth rate was then about 38 per thousand and had been at or about this level for the previous 100 years. 18/

The third five-year plan reported in 1970 that the birth rate had been declining rapidly since 1964, in spite of the fact that the age structure of females in the reproductive age groups would have been expected to have produced a higher birth rate. The percentage of females aged 20-29 years within the reproductive ages (15 to 49 years) was 30.8

16/ "Recommendation of the Executive Director for an allocation: Trinidad and Tobago: health services" (E/ICEF/P/L.1222), paras. 5-6.

17/ Draft Second Five-Year Plan..., p. 47.

18/ Report on Family Planning..., p. 3.

per cent in 1945, 31.5 per cent in 1957, 32.0 per cent in 1960 and 33.7 per cent in 1967. It appeared, therefore, that the decline in the crude birth rate from 39.1 per thousand in 1960 to 28.2 per thousand in 1967 could not be explained by a shift in the age structure of the female population. The plan emphasized that further research would be required to produce an explanation of this trend. It noted, however, that there were a number of important socio-economic and demographic factors which might have contributed to the decline. Improvements in education and in the standard of living, increased urbanization, emigration and the promotion of family planning by the Family Planning Association were several of the variables that were identified as having possibly contributed to fertility decline. 19/

The Central Statistical Office reported in 1973 that the 1960 crude birth rate of 39.5 per thousand population had declined to 24.5 per thousand by 1970. Other fertility rates computed for the period seemed to confirm that there had been a genuine decline in fertility during 1960-1970. It remained undetermined whether the trend would continue and to what level the rate might decline before it eventually stabilized. 20/ The Statistical Office reported that although there had been a consistent decline in both the crude birth rate and the general fertility rate from 1960 to 1969, those rates showed signs of levelling off by around 1970. It cautioned that the trend could not be confirmed until more up-to-date data became available.

In a report prepared in observance of World Population Year a demographer of Trinidad and Tobago reported that there had been a dramatic decline in the crude birth rate--from 38 per thousand population in 1960 to 25-27 per thousand in 1970, equivalent to a decline of 3.5 to 4.5 per cent per annum--which had commenced around 1963 and continued unbroken until 1969. He cautioned, however, that "it is much too soon to be sure that the decline in the birth rate since 1963 will continue to a level that would justify the assumption that the theory of 'demographic transition' is now applicable to Trinidad and Tobago...The halt in the decline since 1970 and the small reversal in 1971 could be a mere fluctuation in the downward trend or it might herald the end of this period of rapid decline". 21/ He noted further that "despite all this evidence of a declining level of fertility between 1960 and 1970 based on a comparison of the fertility patterns existing at different periods, it is known that hidden factors (such as the postponement of child-bearing to a later period) could result in the period rates being artificially raised at a later period with no appreciable effect on the final average. Indeed, if we compare the census fertility rates (live-born children per woman or per mother) for the census of 1946, 1960 and 1970 there is no

---

19/ Third Five-Year Plan..., p. 99.

20/ Population Abstract: 1960-1970..., p. viii.

21/ Harewood, The Population of Trinidad and Tobago (Paris, Comité international de coordination des recherches nationales en demographie, 1975), pp. 50-51.

conclusive evidence of a decline in fertility in 1970". 22/ With regard to fertility differentials, the above-mentioned study reported that the level of fertility of women of Indian descent had been traditionally higher than that of women of African descent, the other major ethnic group in the country, but the differential had declined substantially by 1960 for women under 40 years of age. It was further reported that fertility differentials between educational, ethnic, religious or other groups were largely a reflection of the varying mating patterns of the respective groups. 23/

Government perception of levels and trends of fertility

The Government's draft second five-year plan, which explicitly recognized the relationship between economic development and population increase, called for a better balance between birth rates and death rates.

Report on Family Planning, prepared by the People's National Movement in 1964-1965, contained a lengthy discussion of the adverse effects of continuing high fertility at both the individual and the aggregate level.

In its third five-year plan the Government reported that in accordance with its goal of raising the standard of living of the entire population, it would be necessary to substantially reduce the country's rapid rate of population growth. As a result of this decision, the cabinet had accorded highest priority to a national family planning programme, which the Government considered would contribute to a desired reduction in the rate of population growth. The plan stated: "The imperatives for the promotion of a Family Planning Programme /are/ seen against the background of unemployment of 14 per cent of the labour force, the need for a high rate of increase in the production of food, the calculated increase in the house-building rate which has been firmly stated at 10,000 units a year, the tremendous burden of government recurrent expenditures imposed by the expansion of educational facilities to meet the increased numbers of school-age children and, finally, the burgeoning demands on our water supply created by industrial expansion, population growth and rising expectations. The aim is to halve the birth rate in ten years' time". 24/

In its reply to the Third United Nations Inquiry, transmitted in early 1977, the Government reported that the country's level of fertility continued to be too high, with adverse consequences for population growth and family well-being. A number of specific constraints were identified: miscarriage, still-birth and induced abortion were too frequent; birth intervals were too short; and the incidence of unwanted children was too high.

Policy with regard to fertility

When the People's National Movement first appeared on the ballot, in the general election of 1956, it was opposed by the Roman Catholic

---

22/ Ibid., pp. 53-54.

23/ Ibid., pp. 172, 209.

24/ Third Five-Year Plan..., p. 307.

hierarchy on the grounds that it was in favour of birth control. It won the election in 1956, however, and the four subsequent general elections in 1961, 1966, 1971 and 1976. In 1956 the first private family planning clinic was established in Point Fortin, followed by a number of small private clinics in rural areas. A clinic was opened in the metropolitan centre, Port-of-Spain, in 1959. The Family Planning Association of Trinidad and Tobago, which had been founded in 1956, was admitted to membership in the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) in 1961 and opened a clinic in the country's second largest urban centre, San Fernando, the following year.

The People's National Movement appointed a committee in 1964 to advise the Government on formulating a national population policy. In 1965 the committee recommended that the Party should accept family planning, which would contribute to the social and economic progress of the country at its present stage of development and would benefit the health and moral welfare of the people. 25/ The committee recommended that the Government give all possible support to the Family Planning Association for the continuation and expansion of its programmes, by licensing family planning clinics, remitting customs duties on contraceptive supplies etc.

In 1967 the Government agreed upon the establishment of a national Family Planning Programme and set up a Population Council within the Ministry of Health. In its Third Five-Year Plan the Government outlined the functions of the newly established Population Council: it would promote the introduction of family planning as an integral part of the country's health care services; oversee the establishment of family clinics throughout the islands, located so as to ensure maximum coverage of the island's population; train required personnel to staff the programme; and motivate the public towards acceptance of family planning. On the latter point, the plan expressed the hope that, through the education programme of the Population Council, the thinking of the population would be oriented towards a more enlightened acceptance of its family planning policies by means of radio broadcasts, a programme of film shows and public meettings. 26/ The plan reported that government funds not only would finance those services to be performed in government hospitals and clinics but would also subsidize a number of voluntary organizations such as the Family Planning Association and the Catholic Advisory Bureau.

In its reply to the Third United Nations Inquiry, the Government reported that it had formulated a number of policies in relation to fertility and family well-being, such as the expansion of maternal/child health and family planning programmes, informational and educational activities sponsored by industrial welfare services and various rural institutions etc. The reply noted that the educational component of the Government's Family Planning Programme, which emphasized the benefits of a small family, was likely to have an impact on future levels of fertility and on the rate of population growth.

25/ Report on Family Planning..., p. 64.

26/ Third Five-Year Plan: 1969-1973..., pp. 306-307.

Immigration

Information available to the Government

In 1963, in its second five-year plan, the Government reported that international migration had been an important determinant of the country's population growth. Historically, the country's major migration streams had consisted of slaves from African and indentured labourers from India. By the end of the nineteenth century net migration considerably exceeded natural increase. Following the Second World War, however, with the exception of the brief period when Trinidad had served as capital of the Federation of the West Indies, net immigration had been negligible. The growth of the population since around 1948 was chiefly a result of natural increase. 27/

Government perception of levels and trends of immigration

Owing to the substantial inflow of unskilled and semi-skilled labour from neighbouring Caribbean islands such as Grenadas, the question of freedom of movement within Trinidad and Tobago was a point of contention during the life of the Federation of the West Indies. 28/

In its reply to the Third United Nations Inquiry, early in 1977, the Government reported that the level of immigration at that time was too high. It was thought that the entry of large numbers of immigrants had potentially adverse effects on the rate of population growth and resultant demographic structures and contributed to a manpower surplus in certain sectors and further distortions of the country's patterns of spatial distribution. The reply emphasized that illegal immigration posed a particular problem since the illegal entrants were not subject to government controls.

Policy with regard to immigration

In its third five-year plan the Government stated: "It is assumed that firm steps will be taken under the new Immigration Act to control illegal immigration". 29/

Subsequently, in its reply to the Third United Nations Inquiry in 1977, the Government reported that the Immigration Act would give it greater power to control the entry of both immigrants and temporary workers.

28/ Norma Andrews, "Trinidad and Tobago" in Population Policies in the Caribbean, Aron L. Segal, ed. (New York, Lexington Books, 1975), p. 85.

29/ Third Five-Year Plan..., p. 109.

Emigration

Information available to the Government

Whereas Trinidad and Tobago continued to be a net receiver of migrants up to the 1960s, the country joined the other Commonwealth Caribbean countries in having a net outward movement after that period. At the time of the drafting of the second five-year plan in 1963, following the promulgation of the Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1962, emigration from the Caribbean was extremely low. The plan contained no discussion of emigration levels and trends, probably because the movement was no longer demographically significant.

There was increased opportunity for emigration to the United States of America following that Government's decision in 1965 to abrogate their quota system, based on national origins. The third five-year plan reported that during the period 1962-1968, the rate of natural increase declined from 3.1 per cent to 2.3 per cent per annum. However, as a result of substantial net emigration after 1964, largely to North America, the rate of population growth declined from 3 per cent in 1964 to 1 per cent in 1968. The plan reported that between 1960 and 1968, the labour force had expanded by 3 per cent per annum. Had it not been for the net emigration of 26,000 persons over this period, it would have increased by about 3.5 per cent per annum. As a result of heavy emigration, the percentage of the unemployed to the total labour force had remained constant at 14 per cent.

The plan noted, however, that the favourable effects of emigration on population growth were partially offset by the loss of skilled manpower to the developed countries. It stated: "Even without the relevant statistics which are now being prepared it is well known that this country is an exporter of skilled manpower. The most visible groups are nurses, teachers, doctors, engineers and skilled craftsmen such as mechanics. Most of the migration is to the United States of America, Canada and the United Kingdom. The situation is becoming increasingly critical as the latest drain is from the students graduating from our technical schools." 30/ The plan reported that in 1967 professional and technical workers accounted for 27.0 per cent of the permanent visas to the United States of America; craftsmen and other skilled workers accounted for 25.8 per cent and clerical workers for 26.7 per cent.

The United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) reported in 1971 that at least 60 per cent of the country's emigrants between 1962 and 1968 could be classified as technical personnel. The report noted that there was some uncertainty regarding the exact numbers and characteristics of the migrants: "The outflow of persons from Trinidad and Tobago is

---

30/ Ibid., p. 100.

documented largely in aggregate terms, therefore, analyses of migration trends must depend upon global data, ad hoc information in the country and to an even greater extent on data published in the receiving countries; but these different sets of data are not always consistent." 31/ A 1975 report issued by the World Bank noted similarly that "there are reasons to believe that out-migration, especially among workers, has been significantly underestimated in the official statistics. The clandestine movement of Trinidadians to Venezuela is a major source of error in the estimates." 32/

Projections published in 1973 by the Central Statistical Office did not include a migration assumption, "due to the uncertainty of past and future trends of this component of population change". 33/

Government perception of levels and trends of emigration

In its third five-year plan the Government noted the favourable effect of emigration on population growth rates. It stated: "Analyses of migration by age, sex and occupation are now being prepared. Preliminary results suggest that the majority of migrants are over fifteen This state of affairs augurs well for our likely success with family planning, as the population will be losing potential child-bearers. On the other hand, we are losing at the same time those experienced and skilled workers, both males and females, whom we could least afford to lose." 34/ Noting that the existence of emigration opportunities was an important variable to be considered in the assessment of the future employment situation, the plan reported that while it was desirable to have emigration outlets for unskilled and semi-skilled labour, few countries were prepared to accept this type of labour only and were more inclined to accept very large numbers of highly trained and professional personnel. The plan emphasized that the loss of skilled manpower would have to be stemmed if the country's investments in education and training were to bear returns and that development efforts would flounder without trained nationals.

In its reply to the Third United Nations Inquiry in early 1977, the Government reported that the level of emigration at that time constrained the achievement of national development objectives by contributing to a loss of manpower in certain sectors, to a loss of talent and of innovative capacity, and to further problems in relation to the country's spatial distribution.

31/ The Brain Drain from Five Developing Countries, UNITAR Research Reports, No. 5, p. 42.

32/ Employment in Trinidad and Tobago..., p. 4.

33/ Population Abstract..., p. viii.

34/ Third Five-Year Plan..., p. 100.

Policy with regard to emigration

Since independence, the country has participated in a number of sponsored emigration schemes for unskilled labourers, such as domestic workers emigrating to North America, which have involved subsidized loans for travel and other expenses. UNITAR reported in 1971 that "before 1968 there were few references to any over-all shortages of skills. Emigration of unskilled workers was considered in official policy as one of the methods of alleviating the unemployment problem. Foreign education was also necessary to upgrade and develop local skills. Therefore, although the Government has recognized the over-all problems created by the outflow of trained manpower and has expressed concern, specific policies towards the problem have been partial and conditional." 35/

The Third Five-Year Plan suggested that trained personnel in both the public and the private sector would have to be inspired with a greater sense of commitment to their country's needs; in order to motivate them to refuse offers of more lucrative overseas posts, the plan suggested that appropriate salaries and improved working conditions would have to be provided.

In its reply to the Third United Nations Inquiry the Government reported that it considered the adjustment of economic and social factors to be the most appropriate means of counteracting the undesired emigration of citizens. It had accordingly developed programmes for the expansion of training facilities and employment opportunities.

Spatial distribution of the population

Information available to the Government

The United Nations Development Programme reported in 1972 that the Government had requested a short-term mission in 1961 to provide assistance in the preparation of a physical development plan as well as methodology for the preparatory surveys and research needed for physical planning. As a result of the recommendations of the short-term mission, there was almost continuous assistance to the Government from 1962 until 1972.

In 1963, in its draft second five-year plan, the Government reported that rapid population growth and the declining importance of agriculture as a main source of employment had contributed to an important shift in residence towards the main urban centres. There had been a significant increase in the urban population residing on the periphery of the main population centres; for example, while the population of Port-of-Spain had increased by less than 2 per cent between 1946 and 1960, the population of the three wards adjoining Port-of-Spain had increased by 88 per cent. If the population of those outlying urban areas was added to the population of

35/ The Brain Drain..., p. 60.

the country's major population centres--Port-of-Spain, San Fernando and Arima--the total urban population would account for some 37 per cent of the country's total population. 36/

The third five-year plan reported that the Port-of-Spain region was the most important and intensively developed area in the country and had already exhibited many of the problems which characterize the growth of an overcrowded primate city. In designating five specific areas for regional planning, the plan reported that "the resources and...conditions of each region will be examined against the constraints operating, in order to identify the opportunities for development". 37/

A government statement prepared for a preliminary session of Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements reported that, in order to understand the role and function of each population settlement in Trinidad and Tobago, preliminary analyses had been made of the size and distribution of catchment populations and of the range of services supplied by each of the settlements. "It was found that settlements can be placed in a hierarchy with the large primate city-region (the Port-of-Spain Capital Region) at the top, followed by San Fernando (the second town) and an array of intermediate regional and sub-regional urban centres, and at the bottom by a number of small rural service centres or villages ranging in population up to 6,000 inhabitants." However, "in a small country like Trinidad and Tobago a hierarchical classification of settlements has a somewhat different meaning than in the case of larger developing countries. This is so because all areas in this country are under the strong and direct influence of the primate city, and, in addition, there is a strong interdependence between the Capital Region and all other areas. 38/

Noting that the country had a few examples of over-all settlement planning and design, 39/ the statement went on: "Until recently, there has been no serious attempt at in-depth evaluation of the social impact and degree of acceptability and satisfaction with the products of these efforts. Consequently, it has not been possible to test the practice of planning, designing and developing settlements nor to attempt any consistent refinement and improvement in the process, nor to determine its capability to meet demands. Similarly, there has been no rational attempt to evolve a set of minimum standards appropriate to the needs of the people of this country". 40/

36/ Draft Second Five-Year Plan..., p. 49.

37/ Third Five-Year Plan..., p. 126.

38/ National Report: Trinidad and Tobago (Port-of-Spain, Government Printery, 1976), p. 5.

39/ The examples of settlement planning are Moruant, Diamond Vale and Pleasantville, developed by the National Housing Authority; Trinity and Montrose, developed by private enterprise; Don Village and Chagvanas, developed by the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Committee; and Plaisance Park and La Brea, developed by the Texaco Housing Aid Department.

Government perception of spatial distribution

With regard to the over-all pattern of the country's geographical distribution, the Government statement prepared for a preliminary session of Habitat reported that the country contained many defective human settlements which had been created during the colonial period; "The burden of these settlement mistakes weighs heavily against current efforts at improvement in the quality of life of their inhabitants. Port-of-Spain is a classical example of the colonial capital city and trading port. Point Fortin, La Brea and Santa Flora are pathetic inheritances from the boom period of exploitation of the oil resources of South Trinidad." 40/

With respect to the trend of growth of the metropolitan centre, the same statement reported that "containing the tendency for urban development in the Capital Region, not only to sprawl out on the plain and preempt good agricultural land, but also to creep up the hillsides and destroy the natural vegetation, is one of the major planning problems of the country. In fact, so serious is this problem that its solution completely dominates settlement planning policy and thinking in the country." 41/ The Government further identified the problem of over-concentration of settlements in the coastal zone, especially along the west, or Gulf of Paria, coast; it reported that "these settlements which started on the coast today exhibit a distorted and inefficient internal form since growth could only take place inland...Their cores have become off-centre and inaccessible to their catchment populations". 42/

The Government predicted that by the year 2000 nearly 65 per cent of the country's total population would be living in urban settlements, in contrast to 50 per cent in 1975, and that over-all densities would rise from 500 to approximately 900 inhabitants per square mile.

In its reply to the Third United Nations Inquiry, the Government reported that the distribution of the islands' population was inappropriate from the standpoint of full employment and for the general well-being of the population and stated that a major change was needed.

Policy with regard to spatial distribution

The official statement prepared for a preliminary session of Habitat reported in 1975 that "in spite of the shortcomings in policy formulation at the national level and the lack of commitment to effective action on human settlements, limited progress has been recorded in dealing with

---

40/ National Report: Trinidad and Tobago..., p. 19.

41/ Ibid., pp. 3, 2.

42/ Ibid., p. 3.

specific aspects of the problem. Such action arose largely out of programmes designed to solve specific problems on a sectoral basis rather than on the basis of a comprehensive approach to the more fundamental needs and defects of our human settlements." 43/ The Government noted that there were several pieces of existing legislation which had affected patterns of internal distribution: the Town and Regional Planning Ordinance (1939); the Ribbon Development Ordinance (1952); and the Slum Clearance and Housing Ordinance (1950). In 1969 the Town and Country Planning Ordinance was promulgated in order to provide for "the orderly and progressive development of land in both urban and rural areas and for the preservation and improvement of the amenities thereof". 44/

In its third five-year plan the Government noted that in the previous plan, it had introduced a number of proposals with respect to the physical environment, as well as for the co-ordination of specialized programmes at the local level. It reported that the relationship between physical and economic planning would be greatly strengthened if regional planning techniques were adopted for the formulation and elaboration of subsequent plans.

The plan pointed out that Tobago, a physically separate entity, was the most clearly defined planning region in the country. Additional areas designated as planning regions were the Port-of-Spain capital region, the north-west peninsula, the west coast region (central sugar area) and the south-western region (oilfield area). The Government noted that a specially appointed Tobago Planning Team had prepared an Outline Programme for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction, which was given physical expression in the Tobago Regional Development Plan, prepared in 1965. With regard to its policy for the Port-of-Spain capital region, the Government said: "If Port-of-Spain is to continue effectively to play its part, comprehensive efforts must be made to maintain it as an efficiently functioning urban centre. The treatment proposed is two-fold: dispersion outside the city of activities in accordance with specific criteria for location, and redevelopment of obsolete areas and systems within the city." 45/ Two separate approaches to planning were foreseen for the development of the north-west Peninsula. In areas that were already partially developed, regional planning was to aim at consolidation, and improvement; in the area of Chaguaramas, site of a former United States naval station, the Government's policy would be to redevelop existing facilities and to emphasize the conservation of the area's natural resources. In the central sugar area the major development thrust would be the conversion of sugar lands and the diversification of agriculture. Further development efforts would involve the rational location of manufacturing industry in the west coast

---

43/ Ibid., p. 8.

44/ Ibid., p. 10.

45/ Third Five-Year Plan..., p. 131.

region. The major objective of development policies in the oilfield area would be to arrest the decline in the region and to stabilize its population base.

In the official statement prepared for a preliminary session of Habitat in 1975, the Government reported that the Town and Country Planning Division of the Ministry of Planning and Development had recently considered four alternative scenarios for a regional development strategy: concentration of development in the Capital Region; dispersal of growth; growth pole development; and laissez faire. The Planning Division did not advocate the immediate adoption of any one strategy, but noted that more detailed planning analyses at the regional level were beginning to point in the direction of a modified "growth pole" strategy. The Government emphasized that the rationale behind the favoured strategy was that one outcome of its adoption would be de-concentration of activities outside of the highly congested metropolitan centre. This would result in a more rational use of land and human resources--by achieving a more balanced distribution of, and higher return on, private and public investment--and in a more humanized and socially beneficial style of development--through the creation of a more balanced distribution of population and a more rational hierarchy of human settlements.

The Government reported that the proposed strategy would involve the planning and development of a number of new population settlements. "What this means in terms of new development is obvious. The country will have to build almost as many new settlements as we have today, at higher standards and at five or six times the rate achieved in the past." 46/ The Government further emphasized that the improvement and maintenance of existing population settlements was an additional facet of the proposed strategy and must start from an understanding of the defects of those settlements, a concept of what was needed to bring them up to accepted standards and an appreciation of what was possible.

At the Second Latin American Meeting on Population, held in 1975, the Government reported that development plans and policies in Trinidad and Tobago could be expected to help the country in dealing with the population problem in another important way, namely, by influencing population distribution within the country. The planned location of petro-chemical and other industries, as well as the provision of health and education facilities both aimed deliberately at encouraging rural and semi-urban development. There was a special project for rural development in which three specially identified underdeveloped rural areas would be given attention. The electrification, water supply and road-building programmes had taken the special needs of the countryside into consideration. In addition, specific programmes for urban redevelopment concentrating on certain sections of the capital city were being planned.

46/ National Report..., p. 17.

In its reply to the Third United Nations Inquiry, the Government reported that it had formulated a policy to modify the distribution of economic and social activities between the metropolitan region and the urban and rural areas of other regions which consisted chiefly of the decentralization of public service activities. In addition, it reported that it had completed a land capability survey, identifying areas which were potentially suitable for agriculture, industrial development, housing etc.

CONCLUSION

A developing country with a relatively high level of per capita income and a level of mortality similar to that of the more developed countries, Trinidad and Tobago entered the first stage of its demographic transition in the early 1960s, experiencing declining mortality and relatively high fertility, with resultant high rates of natural increase which were partially offset by emigration. In the draft second five-year plan prepared by the Government shortly after independence, the negative effects of population growth rates were noted, particularly the effects on the country's high level of unemployment. However, at that time the over-all thrust of the Government's development strategy was to resolve demographic problems by means of economic expansion programmes.

Nevertheless, following the recommendations of a special advisory committee which convened in 1964-1965, the Government adopted a national Family Planning Programme in 1967, the outlines of which were set forth in its third five-year plan, for the period 1969-1973. At that time, the Government indicated that it desired to reduce the birth rate by 50 per cent within the coming decade. Although noting the role that the national Family Planning Programme was expected to play in bringing about the desired decline, the plan emphasized that the recently observed downward trend in fertility--a trend that was expected to accelerate--was as much a result of societal development and past levels of emigration as of freer access by the nation's women to family planning services.

By 1975, however, demographers of Trinidad and Tobago had become more cautious in interpreting the downturn in fertility; in a monograph published in observance of World Population Year, they expressed uncertainty as to whether it represented a short-term fluctuation or a long-term trend. 1/ Although recent data seem to confirm the fact of a sustained and significant downward trend, with the crude birth rate having declined 36 per cent between 1960 and 1972, the causes of the trend, acknowledged to be complex, remain uncertain. Although fertility fell throughout the Caribbean region during the 1960s, it appears that, with the possible exception of Barbados, national family planning programmes did not precipitate the fall; they contributed to it, however, in all countries. It has been theorized that in the case of Trinidad and Tobago fertility declined largely in response to such factors as urbanization and the increasing age of women at first union, and as a result of emigration which had long produced imbalanced sex ratios from the early to the middle adult ages. 2/

1/ Jack Harewood, The Population of Trinidad and Tobago (Paris, Comité international de coordination des recherches nationales en demographie, 1975).

2/ Levels and Trends of Fertility Throughout the World, 1950-1970 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIII.2).

In spite of the decline, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago considers that levels and trends of fertility and population growth are still high and must be further reduced. In its reply to the Third United Nations Inquiry in 1977, it stated that individual and aggregate rates of fertility were having adverse effects on population growth and family well-being. This position must be viewed with respect to two factors--rates of emigration and levels of unemployment. When the rate of emigration was higher, it had acted to reduce population growth both in absolute terms and by depressing fertility, a result of the emigration of persons in their reproductive years. As for unemployment, chronically high levels have persisted in recent years, in spite of a steady rate of economic growth and increased national revenues from the oil sector.

The Government has identified a number of other demographic problems--many of which have been experienced by other Caribbean nations--which it urgently desires to resolve. For example, it considers that the emigration of qualified personnel, the "brain drain", is a major constraint on national development and must be reversed. Although it has yet to formulate a comprehensive programme designed to reduce levels and trends of emigration, it has begun to tackle the problem through such measures as employment creation and job training programmes. In addition, the Government considers that the islands' pattern of spatial distribution, which is largely a result of its colonial heritage, poses serious problems for national development. The continuing exodus of the rural population towards the metropolitan centre, Port-of-Spain, is a major national problem which has resulted in a strain on basic services and in visible urban sprawl. Although the Government has not formulated a comprehensive spatial distribution policy, it has identified a number of major planning regions and, in its national report to Habitat, indicated the broad outlines which future spatial and regional distribution policies may be expected to assume.

Thus, although Trinidad and Tobago is a country which is relatively well-off in terms of the availability of demographic statistics, which has comparatively low levels of morbidity and mortality and has experienced a significant downturn in fertility in recent years, the Government considers that a number of serious demographic problems remain to be resolved. The Government has reported that it will follow a policy path designed to bring about a continued reduction in national fertility levels and in the level of population growth, a policy which has been adopted largely as a result of the fact that the economy has not proved capable of absorbing the country's chronically high unemployment. Furthermore, the Government seeks to reduce the concentration of population in the metropolitan centre, mainly through the development of other designated planning regions, and to end the emigration of qualified personnel. Although it has not formulated comprehensive policies for all aspects of national demographic behaviour, it has clearly identified the country's major demographic problems and, since the 1960s, has moved beyond sectoral programmes (i.e., those dealing with mortality, fertility etc.) to a more integrated approach. As the country's delegation emphasized at the Second Latin American Meeting on Population, the Government is not concerned solely with the promotion of

family planning. It considers that population policies must be integrated within over-all development planning and, therefore, it has adopted a broad development strategy, in which programmes and policies in relation to income distribution, spatial distribution, food production, the status of women etc. may be expected to have an impact on the islands' future demographic structures and trends.

Trinidad and Tobago: Selected demographic indicators, 1950-2000

Medium variant	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population, total (in 1000)	632	721	843	908	955	1009	1062	1172	1172	1230	1280
-- , males (--)	315	360	419	436	472	503	533	563	593	622	647
-- , females (--)	317	361	424	472	484	506	529	553	579	608	633
Pop. ages 0-4 to total (0/0)	16.5	16.5	16.6	16.7	14.1	11.9	11.0	10.4	9.5	8.9	8.2
-- 5-14 --	23.6	25.8	26.4	27.6	28.7	27.2	23.1	20.5	19.3	18.1	16.9
-- 15-64 --	56.0	53.8	53.0	52.0	52.8	56.1	60.6	63.1	64.5	65.8	67.3
-- 65+ --	4.0	3.9	4.0	3.7	4.3	4.8	5.3	6.1	6.7	7.2	7.6
-- under 20 --	48.6	51.2	52.7	55.8	53.9	50.9	46.8	41.7	38.1	35.8	33.7
Women ages 15-49 to females (0/0)	47.6	45.2	45.0	45.1	44.6	46.8	50.7	53.1	54.5	55.6	55.6
Dependency ratios (per 1000)	785.3	858.2	887.2	921.5	892.3	781.0	648.9	584.1	550.7	518.9	486.3
Child-woman ratios (per 1000)	688.7	730.1	733.8	713.0	623.3	505.8	434.3	393.9	353.0	324.4	297.8
Sex ratios (per 100 females)	99.4	99.7	98.8	92.2	97.5	99.4	100.8	101.8	102.3	102.4	102.3
Median ages (years)	20.9	19.3	18.6	17.5	18.3	19.6	21.6	23.7	26.1	28.2	30.3
Proportion of urban (0/0)	22.9	22.6	21.9	23.5	24.1	25.1	26.4	28.0	30.1	32.6	35.6
Population density (per sq. km.) ..	123	141	164	177	186	197	207	218	229	240	250
	1950-1955	1955-1960	1960-1965	1965-1970	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000	
Rates of growth (0/0)	2.64	3.13	1.49	1.01	1.09	1.03	1.00	0.97	0.97	0.79	
Natural increase rates (0/00)	26.4	28.7	29.7	21.1	19.3	17.3	15.8	13.9	12.3	10.4	
Crude birth rates (--)	37.7	38.3	37.0	28.0	25.3	23.2	21.8	19.9	18.6	17.0	
Crude death rates (--)	11.3	9.6	7.3	6.9	5.9	5.8	6.0	6.0	6.2	6.6	
Gross reproduction rates	--	--	--	--	1.65	1.37	1.19	1.05	1.02	1.00	
Net reproduction rates	--	--	--	--	1.57	1.32	1.15	1.02	0.99	0.98	
Total fertility rates (0/00)	--	--	--	--	3353	2789	2423	2129	2068	2028	
General fertility rates (--)	162.4	169.3	160.5	121.8	109.7	95.1	84.5	74.8	68.2	61.9	
Life expectancy, males (years).	56.4	60.6	63.8	65,9	67.9	69.0	70.1	70.9	71.5	71.8	
-- , females (--).	59.4	64.3	67.9	69.7	71.2	72.6	73.6	74.6	75.4	76.0	
-- , total (--).	57.8	62.3	65.8	67.8	69.5	70.8	71.8	72.7	73.4	73.9	

/...

High variant	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population, total (in 1000).. .	632	721	843	908	955	1010	1065	1123	1181	1242	1295
-- , males (--).....	315	360	419	436	472	504	535	567	597	628	655
-- , females (--).....	317	361	424	472	484	507	530	557	584	614	640
Pop. ages 0-4 to total (0/0)...	16.5	16.5	16.6	16.7	14.1	12.0	11.0	10.6	9.6	9.0	8.4
-- 5-14 --	23.6	25.8	26.4	27.6	28.7	27.2	23.2	20.6	19.6	18.4	17.1
-- 15-64 --	56.0	53.8	53.0	52.0	52.8	56.1	60.5	62.7	64.1	65.5	67.0
-- 65+ --	4.0	3.9	4.0	3.7	4.3	4.8	5.3	6.0	6.7	7.1	7.5
-- under 20 --	48.6	51.2	52.7	55.8	53.9	51.0	47.0	42.1	38.6	36.3	34.2
Women ages 15-49 to females (0/0)	47.6	45.2	45.0	45.1	44.6	46.7	50.5	52.7	54.2	55.3	55.4
Dependency ratios (per 1000)	785.3	858.2	887.2	921.5	892.3	784.0	653.5	593.8	559.4	527.8	492.3
Child-woman ratios (per 1000) ...	688.7	730.1	733.8	713.0	623.3	513.0	439.0	407.1	359.8	329.3	305.0
Sex ratios (per 100 females)	99.4	99.7	98.8	92.2	97.5	99.4	100.8	101.8	102.3	102.4	102.3
Median ages (years)	20.9	19.3	18.6	17.5	18.3	19.6	21.5	23.6	25.9	28.0	29.9
Proportion of urban (0/0)	22.9	22.6	21.9	23.5	24.1	25.3	27.1	29.4	32.3	35.8	39.9
Population density (per sq.km.)..	123	141	164	177	186	197	208	219	230	242	253
	1950-1955	1955-1960	1960-1965	1965-1970	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000	
Rates of growth (0/0)	2.64	3.13	1.49	1.01	1.12	1.05	1.07	1.01	1.00	0.84	
Natural increase rates (0/00) ...	26.4	28.7	29.7	21.1	19.7	17.5	16.5	14.2	12.6	10.9	
Crude birth rates (--) ...	37.7	38.3	37.0	28.0	25.6	23.4	22.4	20.2	18.8	17.4	
Crude death rates (--) ...	11.3	9.6	7.3	6.9	5.9	5.8	5.9	6.0	6.2	6.5	
Gross reproduction rates	--	--	--	--	1.70	1.41	1.23	1.08	1.04	1.02	
Net reproduction rates	--	--	--	--	1.61	1.35	1.19	1.05	1.02	1.00	
Total fertility rates (0/00) ..	--	--	--	--	3454	2865	2504	2199	2118	2077	
General fertility rates (--)	162.4	169.3	160.5	121.8	111.3	96.1	87.4	76.4	69.5	63.5	
Life expectancy, males (years).	56.4	60.6	63.8	65.9	67.9	69.0	70.1	70.9	71.5	71.8	
-- , females (--)	59.4	64.3	67.9	69.7	71.2	72.6	73.6	74.6	75.4	76.0	
-- , total (--)	57.8	62.3	65.8	67.8	69.5	70.8	71.8	72.7	73.4	73.9	

/...

Low variant	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population, total (in 1000)....	632	721	843	908	955	1005	1052	1104	1156	1211	1258
-- , males (--).....	315	360	419	436	472	501	528	557	585	613	636
-- , females (--).....	317	361	424	472	484	504	524	547	572	599	622
Pop. ages 0-4 to total (0/0) ..	16.5	16.5	16.6	16.7	14.1	11.6	10.5	10.2	9.3	8.8	8.1
-- 5-14 --	23.6	25.8	26.4	27.6	28.7	27.3	22.9	19.8	18.8	17.9	16.7
-- 15-64 --	56.0	53.8	53.0	52.0	52.8	56.4	61.2	63.8	65.1	66.1	67.5
-- 65+ --	4.0	3.9	4.0	3.7	4.3	4.8	5.4	6.1	6.8	7.3	7.7
-- under 20 --	48.6	51.2	52.7	55.8	53.9	50.7	46.4	41.1	37.3	35.1	33.3
Woman ages 15-49 to females (0/0)	47.6	45.2	45.0	45.1	44.6	47.0	51.1	53.6	54.9	55.7	55.5
Dependency ratios (per 1000)	785.3	858.2	887.2	921.5	892.3	774.6	634.1	566.6	537.3	513.3	482.4
Child-woman ratios (per 1000) ...	688.7	730.1	733.8	713.0	623.3	490.4	412.1	384.5	344.2	318.1	295.4
Sex ratios (per 100 females)	99.4	99.7	98.8	92.2	97.5	99.4	100.8	101.8	102.3	102.4	102.3
Median ages (years)	20.9	19.3	18.6	17.5	18.3	19.7	21.8	24.0	26.4	28.7	30.8
Proportion of urban (0/0)	22.9	22.6	21.9	23.5	24.1	24.8	25.7	26.8	28.0	29.6	31.3
Population density (per sq.km.)..	123	141	164	177	186	196	205	215	226	236	245
	1950-1955	1955-1960	1960-1965	1965-1970	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000	
Rates of growth (0/0)	2.64	3.13	1.49	1.01	1.02	0.92	0.96	0.93	0.93	0.76	
Natural increase rates (0/00) ...	26.4	28.7	29.7	21.1	18.6	16.3	15.5	13.5	13.0	10.2	
Crude birth rates (--) ...	37.7	38.3	37.0	28.0	24.5	22.1	21.5	19.6	18.3	16.8	
Crude death rates (--) ...	11.3	9.6	7.3	6.9	5.9	5.8	6.0	6.1	6.3	6.6	
Gross reproduction rates	--	--	--	--	1.60	1.30	1.15	1.02	1.00	1.00	
Net reproduction rates	--	--	--	--	1.52	1.25	1.11	0.99	0.97	0.98	
Total fertility rates (0/00).	--	--	--	--	3251	2647	2332	2068	2028	2028	
General fertility rates (--).	162.4	169.3	160.5	121.8	106.4	90.2	82.5	72.8	66.8	61.3	
Life expectancy, males (years)	56.4	60.6	63.8	65.9	67.9	69.0	70.1	70.9	71.5	71.8	
-- , females (--)	59.4	64.3	67.9	69.7	71.2	72.6	73.6	74.6	75.4	76.0	
-- , total (--)	57.8	62.3	65.8	67.8	69.5	70.8	71.8	72.7	73.4	73.9	

Source: World Population Prospects as Assessed in 1973 (United Nations publication, Sales No. 76.XIII.4).

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS
National capital
County boundary
Internal administrative centre
0 10 20 30 40 50 km
0 10 20 30 mi
61°00'
60°30'
TOBAGO
Scarborough
61°30'
11° 00'
CARIBBEAN SEA
ST. DAVID
ST. GEORGE
VENEZUELA
PORT-OF-SPAIN
Tunapuna
ST. ANDREW
Sangre Grande
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Chaguanas
10° 30'
GULF OF PARIA
CARONI
TRINIDAD
NARIVA
Rio Claro
Princes Town
VICTORIA
MAYARO
ST. PATRICK
Siparia
10° 00'
1. Also administrative centre for St. David county.
2. Also administrative centre for Mayaro county.
VENEZUELA
The boundaries and names shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.
61°30'
61°00'
60°30'

2954x

Litho in United Nations, New York
07946—April 1978—4,800